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Islamic Radicalization in Arizona

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ABSTRACT

Jihadi terrorism has become an area of increasing concern for world governments since 9/11. However, individuals typically go through an extensive process of radicalization prior to the execution of such religious violence. This study examines Islamic radicalization in the United States by focusing on the case study of Arizona. It begins by presenting general demographic information for the state, and it then provides the broad overview of the radicalization process in Arizona. The paper then goes on to detail several critical case studies of Islamic radicalization related to terrorist financing, violence, and religious fundamentalism in the state. Lastly, the study concludes with an overview of the current state of radicalization in Arizona and a discussion of potential future areas for radical infiltration, particularly illegal immigration. This paper outlines in depth the links between the Arizona Muslim community and Al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hezbollah while also detailing the connections between fundamentalist Islam and isolated radical behavior within the family and local Muslim society.

* The views expressed in this publication are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT).

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary threat of jihadi terrorism is largely dependent upon radicalized Islamic networks in the West and affiliated terrorist organizations in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa.¹ To some extent, this development is the spontaneous adaptation of a movement ill-suited to centralized command and control, but it is also the function of Al-Qaeda strategic planning conducted prior to the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.² Indeed, the roots of this theory can be traced to the teachings of Al-Qaeda mastermind, Abu Musab al-Suri, who supported “individual terrorism” and the devolution of power to cellular networks as early as 2000.³ Consequently, the policing units of many Western nations have refocused their counter-terrorism strategies towards combating these modern day threats.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to assist these counter-terrorism efforts in the United States with a focus on Islamic radicalization in Arizona. The advantage of this single-case approach is that it allows for an in-depth analysis of the conditions, precursors, and side-effects of Islamic radicalization within a specific local context. Also, as part of the International Institute for Counter Terrorism’s (ICT) Islamic Radicalization Index, the specific findings of this study can be examined in a comparative manner alongside the other case studies in the index.

¹ Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

² Paul Cruickshank and Mohammad Hage Ali, “Abu Musab Al Suri: Architect of the New Al-Qaeda,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 30 (2007): 1-14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ A. Pedahzur, & M. Ranstorp, “A Tertiary Model for Countering Terrorism in Liberal Democracies: The Case of Israel,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13(2001): 1-26.

Furthermore, Islamic radicalization in Arizona is a particularly interesting case study due to Al-Qaeda's long-standing ties to local Islamic institutions. Indeed, as will be evidenced by this report, Al-Qaeda has used Arizona for training, fundraising, indoctrination, and even operational purposes since its inception in the 1980s. Therefore, a central objective of this paper is to provide a historical narrative of Al-Qaeda's activities in Arizona and document its contribution to the spread of radical Islam in the state.

This study will be divided into three main parts. First, a broad overview of the radicalization processes in Arizona will be provided, proceeding from demographic details to an outline of Arizona's unique radicalization trends. Following this analysis, important case studies involving radical behavior in Arizona will be isolated and elaborated upon. Lastly, this paper will conclude with a description of the current state of radicalization in Arizona and an analysis of illegal immigration as a potential avenue for future radical infiltration.

OVERVIEW OF RADICALIZATION

Demographics

According to the 2010 religious census sponsored by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, Arizona has a population of 12,338 Muslims

with 8,557 adherents, 3831 attendees, and 29 congregations (mosques).⁵ Adherents are defined as Muslims who are associated in any way with religious life in the mosque; attendees are defined as people who attend Friday prayers at the mosque; and a congregation is defined as “a Muslim association/organization, that (2) holds Jum’ah Prayer and that (3) organizes other Islamic activities.”⁶ In relative terms, the number of adherents, attendees, and mosques ranks 22nd, 26th, and 25th respectively, out of the 50 states.⁷ Therefore, Arizona’s Muslim population falls somewhere in the middle of the pack in terms of quantity when compared to other U.S. states.

Additionally, more precise measures of Muslim population density are apparent when this data is disaggregated from the state level to the county level. Particularly, 22 of the 29 mosques (over 75%) are located in Maricopa country, which encompasses the metropolitan area of Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale.⁸ Not surprisingly, the vast majority of Muslim adherents reside in Maricopa county as well (6817, 80%). Figure 1.1 on the next page depicts the total number of Muslim adherents within each county and provides a map of the geographic location of each county within the state.⁹

⁵ Clifford Grammich, Kirk Hadaway, Richard Houseal, Dale E. Jones, Alexei Krindatch, Richie Stanley, and Richard H. Taylor, “U.S. Religion Census: Religious Congregations & Membership Study,” Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies,” (2012).

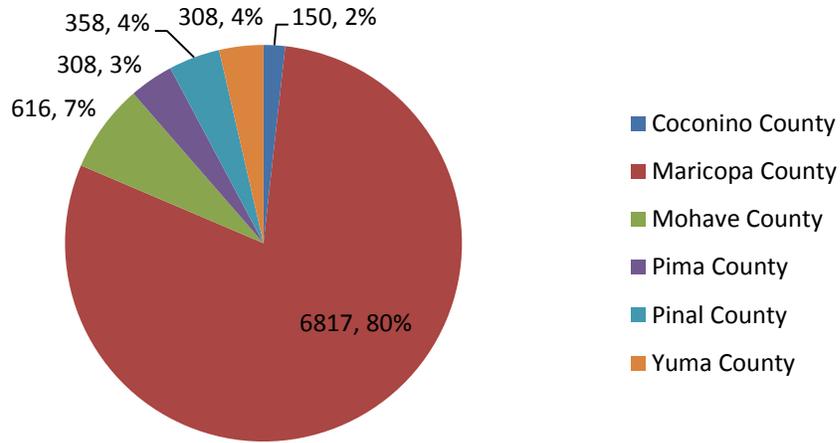
⁶ *Ibid.*, 687

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Source for adherent chart: Grammich et al, U.S. Religion Census. Source for geographic map: United States Census Bureau.

Figure 1.1. Muslim Adherents by County and County Map



Moreover, Arizona also possesses one of the fastest growing Arab American populations in the country. Specifically, there are around 31,809 Arab Americans living in Arizona as of 2009, and this number has “more than doubled since the Census first measured ethnic origins in 1980.”¹⁰ Additionally, the most common countries of origin for new Arab immigrants in Arizona are Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco.¹¹ Figure 1.1 below shows the full statistics for Arab immigration in Arizona, and it reveals that Iraqis make up a clear majority (52.5%) of the Arab immigrant population.¹² Also, most Arab Americans in Arizona live in Maricopa county, which mirrors the distribution of Muslims residency identified in Figure 1.1.¹³

Figure 1.2. Arab Immigrants by Country of Origin

Country	Population	Percent
Iraq	5,436	52.5%
Lebanon	1,688	16.3%
Sudan	1,565	15.1%
Jordan	1,150	11.1%
Syria	714	6.9%
Total	10,353	-

Source: Arab American Institute Foundation (2011)

Arizona: The Radicalization Process

Islamic radicalization in Arizona results from a very interesting pattern of social interaction. Namely, foreign Islamic institutions drive local radicalization processes by embedding themselves within the Arizona Muslim community. Originally, these Islamist

¹⁰ “Arizona Demographic Profile,” The Arab American Institute (AAIF), accessed February 19, 2014, http://www.aaiusa.org/index_ee.php/pages/state-profiles.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

entities formed an isolated radical community in Tucson, which is about 100 miles outside of the dense Muslim population in Phoenix. Over time, this radical ideology gradually made inroads into Arizona's wider Muslim society.

The radicalization process in Arizona owes its roots to Maktab al-Khadimat (MAK), which served as the organizational forerunner to Al-Qaeda.¹⁴ The MAK's involvement in Arizona began in the 1980s when Abdallah Azzam founded a branch of the Al-Khifa Refugee Center¹⁵ in Tucson, Arizona.¹⁶ Next, this Al-Khifa branch became affiliated with a local mosque, the Islamic Center of Tucson, through Wael Jalaidan, who served as the mosque's president from 1984-1985 until he left Arizona in the late 1980s to join MAK in Pakistan.¹⁷ Today, Jalaidan is considered one of the founders of Al-Qaeda and a close associate of the late Osama bin Laden, and many individual cases of radicalization in Arizona can be connected directly or indirectly to Jalaidan's mosque.¹⁸ Indeed, prominent Al-Qaeda operative Wahdi al-Hage, who was convicted in federal court for his participation in the 1998 East African embassy bombings, lived in Tucson

¹⁴ "Islamic Center of Tucson," Investigative Project on Terrorism, accessed April 14, 2013, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/case/419>.

¹⁵ The Al-Khifa Refugee Center was an organization based in Brooklyn that recruited American Muslims to support the jihad in Afghanistan.

¹⁶ Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States," National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (Washington D.C. 2004); Steve Emerson, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us* (The Free Press: New York, 2003).

¹⁷ U.S. Department of Treasury, "Treasury Department Statement on the Designation of Wa'el Hamza Julaidan," accessed April 16, 2013, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3397.aspx>; Alexander Alexiev, "The Wages of Extremism: Radical Islam's Threat to the West and the Muslim World," *The Hudson Institute*, (March, 2011), 73; Steve Emerson, *Terrorism Financing: Origination, Organization, and Prevention: Saudi Arabia, Terrorist Financing and the War on Terror*, Testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, (July 31, 2003), 11-12; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 132.

¹⁸ Department of Treasury, "Statement on the Designation of Wa'el Hamza Julaidan," 1; Alexiev, "The Wages of Extremism," 73; Emerson, *Terrorism Financing*, 132; Kean & Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 226.

and was highly involved at the Islamic Center of Tucson mosque.¹⁹ Other Al-Qaeda operatives associated with the Tucson mosque are Ramzi Yousef, Mubarak al-Duri, Muhammad Byazid, and Hani Hanjour.²⁰ These actors were involved in some of the most significant terrorist attacks in U.S. history, including the 1993 World Trade Center bombing; the 1998 bombing of U.S. embassies in East Africa; and the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks. In sum, Islamic radicalization in Arizona stems from the involvement of Islamist operatives affiliated with Al-Qaeda who infiltrate local Muslim institutions and use these institutions to propagate their message of radical Islam.

CASE STUDIES OF RADICALIZATION IN ARIZONA

The Islamic Center of Tucson: A Profile

As the primary source of Islamic radicalization in Arizona, it is worthwhile to provide a more in depth profile of the Islamic Center of Tucson (ICT). First of all, Article 1, Section 3A of the mosque's constitution establishes a "continuous affiliation" with the Islamic Society of North America, which is an organization linked to the Muslim Brotherhood through the Muslim Students Association (MSA).²¹ The MSA was formed in 1963 as an arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America, and, as it expanded, the

¹⁹ Alexiev, "The Wages of Extremism," 73; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 134-137; Oriana Zill, "A Portrait of Wadiah el-Hage, Accused Terrorist," *PBS Frontline News*, (2001), 1, accessed April 15, 2013 <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/upclose/elhage.html>.

²⁰ Emerson, *American Jihad*, 132-140; Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 226.

²¹ Islamic Center of Tucson (ICT) Constitution (2012), accessed April 15, 2013 from http://www.ictucson.org/#!about_us/csgz.

organization developed a spectrum of affiliated branches and partner Islamic groups.^{22 23} Consequently, the Islamic Society of North America was founded in 1983 “as an “umbrella” organization overseeing the activities of the various [affiliated] agencies.”²⁴

The general strategy of the Muslim Students Association is to propagate Islam in North America in the extremist tradition of the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁵ As a part of this strategy, the MSA uses the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) to create *waqfs*, Islamic endowments, throughout the United States.²⁶ Pursuant to this objective, the ISNA established the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) in order to fund mosques throughout the country as a way to influence their theological positions.²⁷ Article 2, Section 2 of the Islamic Center of Tucson’s constitution further ties the mosque to the Muslim Brotherhood by establishing a partnership with NAIT as follows:

“Real estate purchased by and donated to the ICT shall be held as a religious endowment (Waqf), in accordance with the Trust Agreement, a copy of which is attached hereto. The North American Islamic Trust

²² Examples of these branches are Association of Muslim Social Sciences, Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, and the Islamic Medical Association

²³ Larry A. Poston, “Da’wa in the West,” in *The Muslims of America*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Oxford University Press, 1991), 125-135; Steven Merley, “The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States,” *The Hudson Institute* 2 (April 2009), pp. 1-64.

²⁴ Poston, Da’wa in the West, 132

²⁵ Poston, Da’wa in the West, 125-135; Merley, “The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States,” 1-2.

²⁶ Stephen Schwartz, “Terrorism: Growing Wahhabi Influence in the United States,” hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security (June 26, 2003), Serial No. J-108-21, 17-18; Matthew Epstein, “Saudi Support for Islamic Extremism in the United States,” testimony before the United States Senate Judiciary Committee: Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security (September 10, 2003), 9.

²⁷ Poston, “Da’wa in the West,” 125-135; Merley, “The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States,” 13-14; Dore Gold, *Hatred’s Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*, (Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2003).

(hereinafter referred to as NAIT) shall act as a trustee, and the ICT shall be the beneficiary, pursuant to the terms of the Trust Agreement.”²⁸

Given the Islamic Center of Tucson’s Al-Qaeda roots, which were addressed in the previous section, it makes sense that the mosque would be affiliated with prominent institutions of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. Indeed, while Osama bin Laden was primarily a product of Saudi oppositional Salafism in the late 1970s, these teachings in and of themselves were inspired by the influx of Muslim Brothers into Saudi Arabia after their exile from Egypt.²⁹ Additionally, the ideological godfather of Al-Qaeda, Abdullah Azzam, was a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood before his involvement in Afghanistan and was inspired by radical Muslim Brotherhood philosophers³⁰ to spearhead the jihadi movement against the Soviets.³¹ As such, there is at least a partial ideological convergence between the Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Qaeda.

Furthermore, this convergence is also present within the North American Islamic Trust and the Islamic Society of North America.³² Indeed, sources indicate that NAIT is highly dependent on Saudi Arabia for financial support, and experts believe that the Saudis exploit this dependency to influence the spread of Wahhabism in NAIT partner

²⁸ ICT Constitution, 2

²⁹ Quintan Wiktorowicz, "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 29 (2006), 220; Uriya Shavit, "Al-Qaeda's Saudi Origins," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall (2006), 3-13.

³⁰ Azzam was educated at Al-Azhar University in Egypt during the high point of the Muslim Brotherhood’s intellectual development and was inspired by extremist philosophers such as Sayyid Qutb.

³¹ Shavit, "Al-Qaeda’s Saudi Origins," 3; Asaf Maliach, "Bin-Laden, Palestine, and Al-Qaeda’s Operational Strategy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44 (2008), 354.

³² This is not to say that the two movements are allied. Indeed, the situation is often quite the opposite. This similarity only suggests that the movements share some common origins and interests.

institutions.³³ Additionally, Stephen Schwartz notes in a 2003 Senate hearing that “both ISNA [Islamic Society of North America] and CAIR...maintain open and close relations with the Saudi government³⁴,” and other sources indicate that the Islamic Society of North America is influenced by leaders with close personal ties to the Saudi government.³⁵

Moreover, these affiliations are supplemented by the presence of the Al-Khifa Refugee Center in Tucson. As noted previously, Abdullah Azzam founded al-Khifa in Brooklyn, New York to mobilize support for Maktab al-Khadimat in Afghanistan.³⁶ The Al-Kifah Refugee Center is now designated as a terrorist organization, but it initially served as an important source for radicalization at the Islamic Center of Tucson in the 1990s.³⁷ Indeed, Wadiah el-Hage began his involvement as an Al-Qaeda operative at the Al-Khifa office in Tucson.³⁸

In addition, the Islamic Center of Tucson has also been closely involved with the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which is an organization known for its financial and logistical support of Hamas.³⁹ In the 1980s, the IAP established an “Information Office” in the city of Tucson with the help of the Islamic Center of Tucson leadership.⁴⁰

³³ Alexiev, “The Wages of Extremism,” 75; Gold, “Hatred’s Kingdom,” 148-149

³⁴ Schwartz, 1

³⁵ Gold, Hatred’s Kingdom, 148

³⁶ Emerson, American Jihad, 127-128; Kean and Hamilton, “The 9/11 Commission Report,” 58-59

³⁷ Emerson, American Jihad, 132

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Emerson, “Terrorism Fundraising,” 39; Steve Emerson, “Money Laundering and Terror Financing Issues in the Middle East,” Testimony before the United States Senate Committee of Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs (July 13, 2005), 6-7.

⁴⁰ Emerson, American Jihad, 133

In 1988, the organization used this base of operations to distribute the Hamas charter in the United States, and Ghassan Dahduli, the man who acquired the post office box used for distributing the Hamas charter, “was a member of the Board of Directors of the Islamic Center of Tucson” in the 1980s.⁴¹

To conclude, the links between the Islamic Center of Tucson and extremist Islamic institutions are very apparent. These connections are not merely the function of informal ties between the mosque leadership and outside groups, but they are also institutionalized within the formal constitutional mandate of the mosque. There is even a section of the constitution that encourages Islamic institutions – particularly the Muslim Students Association – to maintain offices on the premises of the mosque.⁴² Moreover, the leadership of the mosque has been directly involved with these outside radical groups. Consequently, it is clear that the Islamic Center of Tucson embraces a fundamentalist vision of Islam that is far removed from mainstream Islamic thought.

The Origins of Radicalization in Tucson: Wael Julaidan

The origins of Islamic radicalization in Tucson—and Arizona as well—can be traced to the relationship between Abdallah Azzam and Wael Hamza Jalaidan.⁴³ During the mid to late 1980s, Abdallah Azzam began to establish a fundraising network in the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² ICT Constitution, Article 2, Section 3, 2

⁴³ Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 73; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 131-132

United States through the foundation of Al-Kifah community centers.⁴⁴ These centers were created in over thirty major U.S. cities, and the Tucson branch served as Azzam's connection to the Muslim community in Arizona.⁴⁵ For his part, Wael Julaidan was involved with Islamist causes even before made contact with Azzam.⁴⁶ As a student at Arizona State University, he was the president of the Muslim Students Association on campus, and during this time, he also accepted a position as the President of the Islamic Center of Tucson.⁴⁷ After a short two years as President, Wael Julaidan left Arizona for Peshawar sometime in the 1980s to support the Afghan jihad.⁴⁸ In Pakistan, Julaidan developed close personal ties with Osama bin Laden and Abdallah Azzam, and he quickly advanced within the ranks of Maktab al-Khadimat.⁴⁹

As his role in the jihadi movement grew, Julaidan was appointed in 1989 to lead the Peshawar branch of the Saudi Red Crescent Society, a Saudi charity used to fund the Afghan mujahidin.⁵⁰ Abdallah Azzam affirmed Julaidan's central fundraising role in an interview as follows:

“...The Saudi Red Crescent and the Saudi Relief Agency headed by Salman Abdel ‘Aziz, has a budget of 100 million riyal per year. These two

⁴⁴ Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*, 97; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 129-130

⁴⁵ Kean and Hamilton, “The 9/11 Commission Report,” 58; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 129-132

⁴⁶ Alexiev, “Wages of Extremism,” 73

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Emerson, *American Jihad*, 132; Evan F. Kohlmann, “*Al-Qaida's Jihad in Europe: The Afghan-Bosnia Network* (New York: Berg, 2004), 7; Barrett Marson, “How Southern Arizona became home base for terror,” *Arizona Daily Star*, July 24, 2004, accessed February 20, 2014 from http://azstarnet.com/news/world/military/how-southern-arizona-became-home-base-for-terror/article_fa0ca409-5e3f-50c3-9611-b15f31a0cd6f.html.

⁴⁹ Emerson, “Terrorism Fundraising,” 11-12; Emerson, *American Jihad*, 77; Department of Treasury, “Statement on the Designation of Wael Hamza Julaidan,” 1

⁵⁰ Emerson, “Terrorism Fundraising,” 11; U.S. Department of Treasury, “Statement on the Designation of Wael Hamza Julaidan,” 1

Saudi organizations are under one headed [by] Wa'il Jalydan, who happens to be head of the Red Crescent as well. He was a representative of the University of King Abdel Aziz in Saudi Arabia in the United States, and left it to become the head of the Red Crescent.”⁵¹

Throughout the 1990s, Julaidan was also involved with many other fundraising capacities.⁵² For one, he served as the Secretary General of the Rabita Trust in 2000, which was designated as a financier of Al-Qaeda by the United States and Saudi Arabia after 9/11.⁵³ In addition, Osama bin Laden described the connection between Al-Qaeda's operations and Julaidan's fundraising efforts, saying, “We were all in one boat, as is known to you, including our brother, Wa`il Julaidan”.⁵⁴

The origins of Islamic radicalization in Arizona stem directly from the activism of Wael Julaidan in the early 1980s. As a student, Julaidan was heavily invested in Islamic causes, and he eventually became the President of the Islamic Center of Tucson. His teachings at the mosque, connections with high level Al-Qaeda leaders, and participation in jihadi fundraising efforts solidified Tucson – and Arizona generally – as an important hub in Al-Qaeda's global terrorism network.

The Life of Wadih el-Hage

⁵¹ Emerson, “Terrorism Fundraising,” 11-12

⁵² Alexiev, “Wages of Extremism,” 74

⁵³ U.S. Department of Treasury, “Background Information on Charities Designated Under Executive Order 13224” (2003), accessed February 20, 2014 from http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Pages/protecting-charities_execorder_13224-p.aspx.

⁵⁴ Emerson, “Terrorism Financing,” 12

Wadih el-Hage is another key player in Arizona's radical Islamic movement. El-Hage is a Lebanese Muslim, but he was raised as a Catholic.⁵⁵ El-Hage converted to Islam as a teenager, and he was promptly ostracized by his Catholic parents.⁵⁶ He was then adopted by a religious Muslim man who paid for his education. With this financial support, el-Hage traveled to the United States and enrolled at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in 1978.⁵⁷ Shortly thereafter, he travelled to Pakistan to enlist with the mujahidin, and during his time there, he became an ardent follower of Abdallah Azzam.⁵⁸

In 1985, el-Hage left Pakistan and returned to the United States in order to accept an arranged marriage with April Ray, a Muslim resident of Arizona.⁵⁹ Notably, 1985 is the same year that Wael Julaidan departed Tucson for Peshawar to head up the Saudi Red Crescent Society, exemplifying the extent to which Julaidan cultivated ties between the Arizona Muslim community and Maktab al-Khadimat. Over the next several years, both el-Hage and his wife traveled to Pakistan on multiple occasions to provide material assistance to the mujahidin.⁶⁰ He became deeply involved with the Islamic Center of

⁵⁵ Emerson, "Terrorism Financing," 135; Zill, "A Portrait of Wadih el-Hage," 1

⁵⁶ Zill, "A Portrait of Wadih el-Hage," 1

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Dennis Wagner and Tom Zoellner, "Arizona was home to bin Laden sleeper cell," *The Arizona Republic*, September 28, 2001, accessed May 9, 2013 from <http://s3.amazonaws.com/911timeline/2001/arizonarepublic092801.html>.

⁶⁰ USA v. Usama bin Laden, et al., Testimony of Wadih el Hage, S(7)98CR1023, Southern District of New York, February 15, 2001.

Tucson and was an active supporter of radical Islamic causes within the Arizona community.⁶¹

Of his numerous radical activities, el-Hage was a leader of the Al-Kifah refugee center on the campus of the Islamic Center of Tucson.⁶² Indeed, in 1988 Wadih el-Hage attended a prominent convention of Al-Kifah activists in Oklahoma City.⁶³ According to federal records cited by Steve Emerson⁶⁴, the convention was used as a meeting place by some of the perpetrators of the 1993 World Trade Center attack. Moreover, it was later revealed that two perpetrators, Ramzi Yousef and Ahmed Ajaj, entered the United States in 1992 using “journalistic photo identification tags” from the Al-Bunyan Islamic Information Center in Tucson.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the address on the ID cards corresponded exactly to the address of the Al-Kifah Refugee Center in Tucson, and in a subsequent court testimony, Wadih el-Hage admitted to working for an organization called Al-Bunyan al-Marsous in Pakistan from 1989-1990 where he arranged for employees to acquire these ID cards.⁶⁶

In addition, Wadih el-Hage is believed to have facilitated the killing of an Islamic sheikh in Arizona in 1990.⁶⁷ The sheikh, Rashad Khalifa, was considered to be a heretic

⁶¹ USA vs. Usama bin Laden, 789; Zill, “A Portrait of Wadih el-Hage,” 1; Steve Emerson, “The Tucson Connection,” *Journal of Counterterrorism and Security International*, Fall (1998), 22.

⁶² It is believed that el-Hage was initially selected to be the successor of Mustafa Shalabi, the former leader of the national Al-Kifah infrastructure, but for unknown reasons, he never took the leadership role (Emerson, “The Tucson Connection,” 20; Emerson, “American Jihad,” 133-136).

⁶³ The keynote speaker at the conference was Abdallah Azzam (Emerson, American Jihad, 135).

⁶⁴ Emerson, American Jihad, 135; Emerson, “The Tucson Connection,” 20

⁶⁵ Emerson, “The Tucson Connection,” 22

⁶⁶ USA vs. Usama bin Laden, “Testimony of Wadih el-Hage,” 802

⁶⁷ Zill, “A Portrait of Wadih el-Hage,” 1; Emerson, American Jihad, 135-136

by members of the Islamic Center of Tucson, and in a 2001 court testimony, el-Hage himself admitted that some attendees wanted him to be killed.⁶⁸ Indeed, in the very same testimony, el-Hage stated that “it was a good thing” that Khalifa had been killed.⁶⁹ Furthermore, evidence indicates that el-Hage met with a man gathering intelligence for the assassination prior to Khalifa’s killing.⁷⁰ As such, it is believed that he provided logistical support to the operation.⁷¹

In 1992, el-Hage moved to Sudan to join up with Osama bin Laden and the newly established al-Qaeda organization.⁷² At this time, sources indicate that el-Hage served as Osama bin Laden’s personal secretary, and due to his close relationship with the Al-Qaeda leader, he became known as “The Manager” in Al-Qaeda circles.⁷³ In Sudan, el-Hage was primarily responsible for managing bin-Laden’s many businesses, which served as fundraising sources for Al-Qaeda.⁷⁴ In one situation, el-Hage negotiated the delivery of a commercial jet in the United States to bin Laden in Sudan.⁷⁵ He used his connections with the Tucson al-Kifah office and enlisted a resident of Arlington, Texas to purchase a T-39A Sabreliner.⁷⁶ This man, Essam Al-Ridi, purchased the aircraft from a

⁶⁸ USA vs. Usama bin Laden, 789

⁶⁹ USA vs. Usama bin Laden, 798

⁷⁰ USA vs. Usama bin Laden, 788-798

⁷¹ El-Hage is also connected to the murder of radical Jewish terrorist Meir Kahane. He is believed to have provided assault weapons to Mahmud Abouhalima to carry out the assassination. Abouhalima is also a perpetrator of the World Trade Center bombing (Zill, “A Portrait of Wadiah el-Hage,” 1).

⁷² Zill, “A Portrait of Wadiah el-Hage,” 1

⁷³ Wagner and Zoellner, “Arizona was home to bin Laden sleeper cell,” 1

⁷⁴ Zill, “A Portrait of Wadiah el-Hage,” 1

⁷⁵ Wagner and Zoeller, “Arizona was home to bin Laden sleeper cell,” 1

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

U.S. air force base in Arizona and then flew the plane to Sudan himself.⁷⁷ Bin Laden intended to use the plane “to transport Stinger missiles to Pakistan;” however, it broke down before the operation could be executed.⁷⁸ In addition to these activities, el-Hage was also frequently dispatched to Europe on fundraising trips, and there is evidence that he may have been tasked with acquiring chemical weapons during this time-frame as well.⁷⁹

In 1994, Wadih el-Hage left Sudan for Nairobi, Kenya where he continued to manage and establish Al-Qaeda linked businesses.⁸⁰ He also became friends with some of the major operators of Al-Qaeda’s 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Nairobi.⁸¹ As a case in point, Fazul Abdallah Muhammad (a.k.a. Haroun Fazul), lived with el-Hage and worked as his personal assistant. Fazul was later arrested for “renting the house where the bomb was built and driving the lead truck in the bombing”.⁸² In addition, el-Hage made the acquaintance of Mohammed Saddiq Odeh who was also arrested by U.S. officials in connection with the embassy bombings.⁸³

In sum, the life of Wadih el-Hage exemplifies the extent of Islamic radicalization in Arizona during the 1980s and 1990s. El-Hage’s radical activity is also directly linked with the Islamic Center of Tucson. Further, he used the connection between the mosque and Al-Kifah Refugee Center to participate in multiple acts of terrorism and violations of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Zill, “A Portrait of Wadih el-Hage,” 1

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

U.S. law. However, even more than this, he established a direct connection with Osama bin Laden and came to develop a deep personal relationship with the Al-Qaeda leader. This connection with bin Laden is very similar to Wael Julaidan's high level involvement in the leadership of Maktab al-Khadimat and al-Qaeda. Therefore, not only were two members of the Arizona Muslim community directly involved with Al-Qaeda during this time period, but they were also highly prominent terrorist operatives who held the confidence of Osama bin Laden himself.

2001 World Trade Center Attacks (9/11): Hani Hanjour

Hani Hanjour, an Al-Qaeda pilot for the 9/11 attacks, also lived in Arizona during his radicalization process.⁸⁴ In the mid-1980s, Hanjour traveled to Afghanistan to participate in the jihad against the Soviets; however, he arrived too late to participate in the main phase of the fighting.⁸⁵ After a short time in Afghanistan, Hanjour traveled to the United States in 1991 to learn English as a second language, and he enrolled at the University of Arizona in Tucson.⁸⁶ According to a testimony from Hanjour's brother, the future 9/11 hijacker returned from Arizona as a changed man committed to a highly fundamentalist version of Islam.⁸⁷

At some point in the mid-1990s, Hanjour decided that he wanted to become a pilot and applied to flight school in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. This decision appears to have been

⁸⁴ Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 225

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Steve Fainaru and Alia Ibrahim, "Mysterious Trip to Flight 77 Cockpit," *The Washington Post*, September 10, 2002, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/13/AR2007081300752.html>.

made independently as there is no evidence of his involvement with Al-Qaeda at this time. However, Hanjour's application to flight school was rejected, and so, he decided to return to the United States in 1996 to enroll in a pilot training program there. After considering programs in several states, Hanjour ultimately decided to enter a program in Arizona and train there for several months.⁸⁸

The 9/11 Commission Report argues that Hanjour's time spent in Arizona was a potentially significant cause of his ultimate decision to join Al-Qaeda and participate in the 9/11 attacks. In part, it reads that:

“... [Hanjour] associated with several individuals holding extremist beliefs who have been the subject of counterterrorism investigations. Some of them trained with Hanjour to be pilots. Others had apparent connections to Al-Qaeda, including training in Afghanistan.”⁸⁹

At around this same time, the 9/11 Commission Report also reveals that Al-Qaeda was instructing many of its members to travel to Arizona in order to train as airplane pilots.⁹⁰ These operatives were not given a reason for this instruction, but there is evidence that many followed these orders and moved to Arizona,⁹¹ Therefore, during the late 1990s, it is clear that radical foreign elements were systematically infiltrating and radicalizing the Arizona Muslim community. In addition, this radicalization process had now expanded beyond the immediate vicinity of the Islamic Center of Tucson. Indeed,

⁸⁸ Kean and Hamilton, “The 9/11 Commission Report,” 225

⁸⁹ Kean and Hamilton, “The 9/11 Commission Report,” 226

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

there is little to no documented evidence of Hani Hanjour's direct involvement with the Tucson mosque; however, there is substantial evidence to suggest that he associated with radical individuals within the Arizona Muslim community.⁹² As a result, Hani Hanjour's personal radicalization experience is indicative of the expanding influence of radical Islam in Arizona, moving beyond the walls of the mosque to the wider Muslim community.

In early 2000, the cumulative impact of these radicalization processes led to Hanjour to attend an Al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. During his training, Al-Qaeda leaders became aware of Hanjour's flight training, and he was subsequently sent directly to Khalid Sheikh Mohammad. At this time, Hanjour was introduced to the 9/11 plot and agreed to participate in the attack as a suicide pilot.⁹³

As a newly inducted member of Al-Qaeda, KSM instructed Hanjour to return to the United States in order to prepare for the hijacking. Again, he returned to Arizona in order to obtain advanced training lessons. He completed his studies in March 2001 and left Arizona to rendezvous with the remainder of the hijacking team. Finally, on September 11, 2001, Hani Hanjour crashed American Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon, killing 59 passengers and 125 Pentagon employees.⁹⁴

Clearly, the Islamic radicalization in Arizona played a significant role in pushing Hanjour to join Al-Qaeda. The 9/11 Commission Report substantiates this assertion,

⁹² Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 225-226; Fainaru and Ibrahim, "Mysterious Trip to Flight 77 Cockpit," 1-5

⁹³ Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 226

⁹⁴ Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 226-227

explicitly linking the culture of radical Islam in Arizona to Hanjour's behavioral decisions. Additionally, second-hand testimonies from individuals close to Hanjour, including his brother, indicate that the 9/11 hijacker turned to fundamentalist Islam following his experiences in Arizona,⁹⁵ Furthermore, the actions of Al-Qaeda itself during this time period also reflect the increasing radicalization of Arizona Muslims. Indeed, it is clear that Al-Qaeda was effectively using Arizona as an operational training ground for airborne terrorist attacks from 1990-2001.

After 9/11: Imam Omar Shahin

Most of the radicalization processes examined in previous sections relate directly to terrorism via Al-Qaeda operatives. However, following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, a less blatant form of radicalization became the norm in Arizona. The behavior of Omar Shahin, the Imam of the Islamic Center of Tucson from 2000-2003, exemplifies this new process of radicalization. Shahin served as the Imam at the Islamic Center of Tucson from 200-2003 and then he joined the leadership of the North American Imams Federation (NAIF), an institution affiliated with foreign Islamic fundamentalists.⁹⁶ The current president of NAIF, Ashrafuzzaman Khan, has ties to Jamaat-e-Islamiya, a terrorist organization in Southeast Asia, and almost all of the current executive committee

⁹⁵ Fainaru and Ibrahim, "Mysterious Trip to Flight 77 Cockpit," 1-5

⁹⁶ Zuhdi M. Jasser, "Exposing the Flying Imams," *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter (2008), 3-11; Alyssa Lappen, "North American Imams Federation: Brotherhood Unmasked," Fall 2012, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://www.brotherhoodunmasked.net/organizations-connected-to-the-muslim-brotherhood/naif>.

members have expressed radical views, including supporting suicide bombings.⁹⁷ Additionally, many of these leaders are affiliated directly or indirectly with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹⁸

Currently, Shahin is the Secretary of the NAIF Board of Trustees, but he has a track record of extreme behavior dating back to his days as Imam of the Islamic Center of Tucson. For one, he denied that Muslims were responsible for the 9/11 attacks when he was Imam of the Tucson mosque, and he “questioned the accuracy of the FBI's list of hijackers”.⁹⁹ Additionally, in his book, *The Muslim Family in Western Society: A Study in Islamic Law*, Shahin instructs Muslims to follow Sharia law even when these teachings contradict the civil laws of Western courts¹⁰⁰ (Shahin, 2007). According to Shahin:

“A Muslim must try his best to abide by the rulings of Sharia [Islamic law] whenever possible as much as he can. He should not allow himself to be liable to those western laws that contradict the clear-cut Islamic rulings”.¹⁰¹

Moreover, Shahin propagated these radical ideas within the Islamic Center of Tucson itself. On one occasion in October 2002, he gave a highly anti-Semitic sermon during Friday prayers, saying:

“Prophet Mohammed peace be upon him said: ‘you will keep on fighting with the Jews until the fight reaches the east of Jordan river then the stones

⁹⁷ Lappen, “North American Imams Federation,” 1-11

⁹⁸ Lappen, “North American Imams Federation,” 1-4

⁹⁹ Sean Holstege and Dennis Wagner, “Ariz. Muslim leaders face increased FBI scrutiny,” *The Arizona Republic*, November 16, 2008, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://www.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/news/articles/2008/11/16/20081116scrutiny1116.html>.

¹⁰⁰ Omar Shahin, *The Muslim Family in Western Society: A Study in Islamic Law* (Cloverdale Books, 2007).

¹⁰¹ Holstege and Wagner, “Ariz. Muslim leaders face increased FBI scrutiny,” 1

and trees will say: oh Muslim, oh (servant) slaves of Allah, there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him...”¹⁰²

In addition to espousing extremist rhetoric, Shahin has also been involved with several Islamic charities that raised funds for terrorist organizations.¹⁰³ He was a representative and fundraiser for Kind Hearts and the Holy Land Foundation, and he hosted several lectures by the Islamic Association for Palestine at the Islamic Center of Tucson.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, Kind Hearts and the Holy Land Foundation were outlawed for financing Hamas activities, and the Islamic Association for Palestine¹⁰⁵ was investigated for its financial ties to Hamas and involvement in the killing of an American citizen in the West Bank.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, Shahin was also associated with Life and Development Inc., which was investigated by FBI counter-terrorism agents in reference to the Iraqi oil-for-food scandal.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Omar Shahin, “Slaves of God,” *Islamic Center of Tucson*, October 4, 2002, accessed April 16, 2003 from http://www.americansagainsthate.org/Omar_Shahin's_ICT_Lectures.htm.

¹⁰³ Emerson, “Money Laundering and Terror Financing Issues in the Middle East”

¹⁰⁴ Emerson, “Money Laundering and Terror Financing Issues in the Middle East,” 8-9; Alexiev, “Wages of Extremism,” 73

¹⁰⁵ The founder of the Islamic Association for Palestine is Mohammed Abu Marzook, Deputy Chairman of the Hamas Political Bureau.

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Department of Treasury, “Treasury Department Statement Regarding the Designation of the Global Relief Foundation,” October 18, 2002, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3553.aspx>; U.S. Department of Treasury, (2006, pp. 1) “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>; Associated Press, “Jury awards \$156M to family of teen slain in West Bank,” *USA Today*, December 9, 2004, accessed February 20, 2014 from http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2004-12-09-slaying-suit_x.htm.

¹⁰⁷ Organizations involved in the oil for food program were supposed to purchase Iraqi oil so the government could in turn use the money to buy food for its citizens. However, it was discovered that many of these organizations provided illegal kickbacks that went directly into the pocket of Sadaam Hussein himself (Sharon Otterman, “Iraq: Oil for Food Scandal,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, October 28, 2005, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://www.cfr.org/un/iraq-oil-food-scandal/p7631#p1>)

Furthermore, Shahin was principally involved in the 2006 “Flying Imams” incident at the Minneapolis, Minnesota airport. In this situation, Shahin and six other Arizona Imams were removed from an airplane for disturbing the passengers and arousing the suspicions of the flight crew. Specifically, the Imams “conducted prayers at the departure gate rather than in the airport chapel,” engaged in “loud Arabic conversations,” and requested for “unnecessary seat-belt extenders—which can be used as weapons—and a post-boarding seating switch.”¹⁰⁸ Passengers on the planes relayed their concerns to flight attendants who then removed the Imams from the aircraft, and, following their detention, the Imams—led by their spokesperson Shahin—enlisted the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), another Saudi funded advocacy group, to sue the airline and the passengers.¹⁰⁹ When taken in isolation, this case is not a concrete indicator of extremism or radical behavior; however, when examined in the context of Shahin’s long resume of radical activity, it amounts to a disconcerting pattern of behavior.

It is clear that Shahin disregarded U.S. law during his tenure as Imam of the Islamic Center of Tucson, and he continued this behavior in his leadership role with the North American Imams Federation. Omar Shahin’s activities at the Tucson mosque are emblematic of a continuing trend of Islamic radicalization in Arizona following the terrorist attacks of 9/11. While this new face of radicalization is not directly linked to Jihadi terrorist groups, it clearly associates with the same beliefs about the incongruent

¹⁰⁸ Jasser, “Exposing the Flying Imams,” 3

¹⁰⁹ Jasser, “Exposing the Flying Imams,” 3-11

relationship between political Islam and the West. Furthermore, Shahin's indirect support of Hamas through charitable institutions is reminiscent of Wael Julaidan's activities with the Rabita Trust, indicating a continuation of some aspects of Tucson's pre-9/11 Islamic activism. Indeed, there is evidence that Shahin raised money for Hamas-linked charities within the Islamic Center of Tucson itself. Consequently, while the indicators of Islamic radicalization in Arizona following 9/11 are slightly different, they represent a continuation of the same general trend.

ISLAMIC RADICALIZATION IN PRESENT DAY ARIZONA

General Trends

In the present day, there are many examples of radical Islam in the Tucson area; however, it is more difficult to link these events to the Islamic Center of Tucson because the mosque's current leadership lacks the extremism exhibited by Wael Jalaidan and Omar Shahin. This observation does not necessarily mean that the radicalization of the area is degrading. For example, in 2008, Muslim youths wielding Ak-47s participated in a shooting spree that prompted the attention of the FBI, suggesting that younger generations of Muslims may still be susceptible to the extreme practices of Tucson's past.¹¹⁰ However, events like this one also exist side by side with cases pitting the younger and older generations of Arizona Muslims against each other. For instance, in 2009, a young Muslim woman was killed by her parents because they believed she was

¹¹⁰ Holstege and Wagner, "Ariz. Muslims face increased FBI scrutiny," 1

becoming “too Westernized”.¹¹¹ Similarly, the parents and sister of a Muslim woman were apprehended in 2012 for abusing the woman due to her relationship with a man, an action which they felt violated Sharia law.¹¹² Therefore, while the degree of radicalization in the Tucson Islamic community represents a lesser threat than in years past, it is still clear that radicalization processes are at work.

Potential Ties to Terrorism

While the current state of Islamic radicalization is generally less violent, there is still some evidence of terrorist-related activism. The most prominent example of this type of behavior is the recent bombing of a social security office by Iraqi national Abdullatif Ali Aldosary. In 2011, Aldosary was denied a green card to live in the United States due to objections by the Department of Homeland Security on terrorism-related grounds.¹¹³ In response to a query by Tucson local news, the DHS clarified this assertion, saying that Aldosary was denied “legal permanent resident status due to his participation in an uprising against Iraqi government forces in Basra in March 1991, during the Gulf War.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Amanda Lee Myers, “Arizona 'Honor Killing': Iraqi Immigrant Sentenced to 34 1/2 Years in Prison for Running Over, Killing Daughter,” *The Huffington Post*, April 15, 2011, accessed April 16, 2013 from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/04/15/arizona-honor-killing-iraqi-immigrant-sentenced_n_849999.html.

¹¹² Mia Garcia, “Woman claims family beat her for talking to a man,” Fox News Phoenix, October 10, 2013, accessed April 16, 2013 from <http://www.myfoxphoenix.com/story/19750643/2012/10/05/daughter-family-court>.

¹¹³ Associated Press, “Abdullatif Ali Aldosary pleads not guilty in Casa Grande Social Security office explosion,” December 11, 2012, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://www.abc15.com/news/region-phoenix-metro/central-phoenix/abdullatif-ali-aldosary-casa-grande-social-security-office-explosion-case-in-court>.

¹¹⁴ Steve Stout and Rebecca Thomas, “Gosar questions how bomb suspect was allowed to live in AZ,” *Tucson News NOW*, December 6, 2012, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://www.tucsonnewsnow.com/story/20279561/gosar-questions-how-bomb-suspect-was-allowed-to-live-in-az>.

This case study does not provide a direct connection between Islamic radicalization and terrorism-related violence, but given the history of radicalization in Arizona and Aldosary's activities in Iraq, it merits further investigation. Indeed, some sources within the FBI have been quoted as saying that the case is being handled internally "like a domestic terrorism investigation" despite the lack of terrorism charges.¹¹⁵

Legislative Efforts to Combat Radicalization

In recent years, federal and state officials have been increasingly aware of the presence of radical Islam in Arizona. On the federal side, the FBI has been heavily engaged in efforts to monitor and disrupt processes of Islamic radicalization in Arizona since 9/11.¹¹⁶ The 9/11 Commission Report even references a classified FBI/CIA document titled "Arizona: Nexus for Islamic Extremists" to support many of its claims about the threat of radical Islam in Arizona.¹¹⁷ Likewise, local law enforcement has engaged in similar efforts to counter the spread of radical Islamic ideologies especially with regard to the infiltration of radical operatives through the U.S.-Mexico border.¹¹⁸ As

¹¹⁵ Patrick Poole, "Iraqi Refugee arrested for bombing Arizona social security office with IED," *PJ Media*, December 2, 2012, accessed April 15, 2013 from <http://pjmedia.com/tatler/2012/12/02/iraqi-refugee-arrested-for-bombing-arizona-social-security-office-with-ied-media-silence-ensues/>.

¹¹⁶ Holstege and Wagner, *Ariz. Muslim leaders face increased FBI scrutiny*, 1

¹¹⁷ No other information is publicly available about this document. However, it is used on a number of occasions to substantiate claims from the 9/11 Commission Report about the role of radical Islam in Arizona (Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report, 521, note 58).

¹¹⁸ Tucson Police Department, "International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah," September 20, 2010, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://publicintelligence.net/ufouo-lulzsec-release-arizona-police-say-hezbollah-is-in-mexico/>.

such, these combined federal and state enforcement efforts help to create a more proactive and effective security community than was present in Arizona before 9/11.

In addition, recent legislative efforts have also promoted counter-radicalization policies. Legislation is an important front in countering radicalization, but it is also a complex and difficult way to achieve effective results. This difficulty stems from the fact that holding radical beliefs is not strictly illegal in the United States, and it is sometimes difficult to establish a legally acceptable link between radical thoughts and incitement to violence. As a result, legislation aimed at preventing the spread of radical Islam has been criticized on the grounds that it is discriminatory at worst and unnecessary at best. Even so, the Arizona State Legislature passed HB 2064 in April 2011, which prohibits the enforcement of “foreign law if doing so would violate a right guaranteed by the constitution of this state or of the United States.”¹¹⁹ This bill was intended to prevent the use of Sharia law in the American court system, and it was adapted from a previous, unsuccessful version of the bill that explicitly outlawed the use of Christian, Jewish, or Muslim religious law in state courts.¹²⁰

Event Chronology of Radicalization in Arizona

¹¹⁹ H.B. 2064, Arizona State Legislature, 2011, accessed October 15, 2013 from <http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/50leg/1r/bills/hb2064s.pdf>.

¹²⁰ H.B. 2582, Arizona State Legislature, 2011, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/50leg/1r/bills/hb2582p.pdf>.

To conclude, Figure 2 below provides chronology of activities associated with Islamic radicalization in Arizona from the 1980s to the present day. As is evidenced by the timeline, many of the events are directly or indirectly associated with the Islamic Center of Tucson. Furthermore, most cases which are not directly linked to the Tucson mosque involve antagonists who reside in the Tucson area. These observations reflect the significance of Tucson as a source for radicalization in the Arizona Muslim community. However, there are also cases of radical activity outside of Tucson. This indicates that while Tucson is the center of gravity for radical Islam in Arizona, this ideology has expanded to other metropolitan areas in the state as well.

Figure 2. Radical Islam in Arizona: Timeline of Events

- **1980s:** Al-Khifa organization was founded in Tucson, Arizona by MAK to recruit Muslims to travel to Afghanistan and participate in the jihad
- **1980s:** Islamic activists in Arizona provide financial support to Maktab al-Khadimat (MAK), the organizational forerunner of Al-Qaeda
- **1985:** Islamic Center of Tucson Mosque is founded and serves as an office of the MAK
- **1985:** Wadi Al-Hage, veteran of the Afghanistan Jihad, moves to Arizona
- **1988:** Islamic Center of Tucson President Wael Julaidan served as the director for Rabita Trust, an Islamic charity that funds Al-Qaeda operations
- **1990s:** Islamic Center of Tucson is adapted into “the de-facto Al-Qaeda headquarters in the United States”.¹²¹
- **1990s:** Important Al-Qaeda figures enroll in Arizona State University and live in Tucson, Arizona (Kean and Hamilton, 2004)
- **1992:** Wadi Al-Hage solicits the help of Texan Essam Al-Ridi in buying a commercial jet to transport Al-Qaeda weapons

¹²¹ Investigative Project on Terrorism, 1

- **1992:** Ramzi Yousef, future perpetrator of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, is arrested with fake ID papers provided by Al Bunyan Islamic Information Centre (AIIC) in Tucson, Arizona.
- **1997:** 9/11 hijacker Hani Hanjour moves to Arizona from Saudi Arabia and enrolls in flight school
- **1998:** Al-Hage is arrested and indicted for his involvement in the 1998 Al-Qaeda bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.
- **2000:** Omar Shahin becomes the Imam of the Islamic Center of Tucson.
- **2000-2001:** Shahin raises money for the Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which are later shut down for funneling money to Hamas.
- **2001:** The 9/11 Attacks occur and Hani Hanjour crashes American Airlines flight 77 into the Pentagon
- **2001:** Omar Shahin expresses doubt that Muslims perpetrated the 9/11 attacks and doubts the legitimacy of the FBI's suspect list.¹²²
- **2005:** Omar Shahin is identified as a representative of KindHearts, an Islamic charity that is dissolved in 2006 for financial ties to Hamas
- **2006:** Six Imams from Arizona are removed from U.S. Airways flight 300 for acting in a suspicious manner.
- **2006:** Phoenix resident Nadeem Hassan is expelled from the U.S. for membership in the terrorist organization, Jamaat al Tabligh.¹²³
- **2007:** The FBI raids the home of Akram Musa Abdallah, a Muslim resident of Mesa, Arizona, for his suspected involvement with the Holy Land Foundation
- **2007:** Omar Shahin publishes a book which calls on Muslims to obey Sharia law above all civil laws established by Western democracies. He quotes extensively from a radical Islamic scholar associated with Al-Qaeda.
- **2008:** 20 Muslim youths fired between 500 and 1,000 rounds of ammunition from Ak-47s, sniper rifles, and hand guns in a residential area of Phoenix, Arizona. Six of the young men are arrested on felony weapons infractions.
- **2008:** Akram Musa Abdallah, a Muslim resident of Mesa, Arizona, is indicted for lying to FBI agents regarding the fact that he provided financial assistance to the Holy Land Foundation.

¹²² Holstege and Wagner, "Ariz. Muslim leaders face increased FBI scrutiny"

¹²³ Dennis Wagner, "Muslims decry U.S. ouster of Tempe Doctor," *The Arizona Republic*, December 13, 2011, accessed April 16, 2013 from

http://www.islamawareness.net/Islamophobia/America/america_islamophobia_002.html.

- **2009:** 20 year old woman, Noor Almaleki, is killed by her father because she became “too westernized.”
- **2012:** The mother, father, and sister of a Muslim woman illegally imprison and abuse her because she rejected an arranged marriage and looked at another man. They plead guilty to charges of unlawful imprisonment, disorderly conduct, and misdemeanor assault, respectively.
- **2012:** Iraqi-born Muslim, Abdullatif Aldosary, bombs the Cooidge, Arizona Social Security office after researching the components of commonly used terrorist bombs

FUTURE THREATS: RADICALIZATION TERRORISM, AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Al-Qaeda and Illegal Immigration

Given the evolving nature of jihadi terrorism, it is important to identify and strategize for future sources of radicalization and extremism. Indeed, the House Committee on Homeland Security noted that “one of the central criticisms made by the 9/11 Commission regarding the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks was a failure of imagination in piecing together the threat picture from al-Qaeda before it was too late”.¹²⁴ As such, it is especially important to identify potential problems in states like Arizona with deep and long-standing ties to radical Islamist.

One potential source of extremism with special relevance to Arizona is the influx of illegal immigrants through the U.S.-Mexico border. Many sources within the U.S.

¹²⁴ Michael T. McCaul, “A Line in the Sand: Countering Crime, Violence and Terror at the Southwest Border,” United States House Committee On Homeland Security Subcommittee On Oversight, Investigations, And Management, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://mccaul.house.gov/uploads/Final%20PDF%20Line%20in%20the%20Sand.pdf>.

government have confirmed that illegal immigration is of interest to individuals with ties to terror groups. For example, in 2007, Director of National Intelligence, Mike McConnell, acknowledged that terrorists have crossed into the United States via the U.S.-Mexico border. He specifically referenced the infiltration of a “significant number of Iraqis” with ties to terrorism, and he suggested that terrorists would increasingly utilize illegal immigration to infiltrate the U.S. unless border security improved.¹²⁵

Additionally, the Government Accountability Office reported that U.S. border patrol agents had encountered “persons linked to terrorism”¹²⁶ in 2008 along the southwest border, and as recently as 2012, U.S. Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano, indicated that terrorist-affiliated individuals have infiltrated the U.S. through Mexico “from time to time”.¹²⁷ Furthermore, declassified CIA memos reveal that Al-Qaeda prepared to infiltrate the U.S. through Mexico as early as 2003. The following assertions from the CIA are telling indicators of Al-Qaeda’s preparations:¹²⁸

“Recent information demonstrates al-Qa’ida’s ongoing interest to enter the United States over land borders with Mexico and Canada—although it is unclear whether operatives have been advised to present credentials to border authorities or sneak across. The information obtained includes:

¹²⁵ Chris Roberts, “Transcript: Debate on the foreign intelligence surveillance act” *El Paso Times*, August 22, 2007, pp. 1, accessed August 1, 2013 from http://www.elpasotimes.com/news/ci_6685679.

¹²⁶ Government Accountability Office, “Checkpoints Contribute to Border Patrol’s Mission, but More Consistent Data Collection and Performance Measurement Could Improve Effectiveness,” pp. 19, August 31, 2009, accessed February 21, 2014 from <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-09-824>.

¹²⁷ Edwin Mora, “Napolitano: Terrorists Enter U.S. from Mexico ‘From Time to Time,’” *CNS New*, July 30, 2012, accessed August 1, 2013 from <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/napolitano-terrorists-enter-us-mexico-time-time>.

¹²⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, “Coaching Operatives to Circumvent Our Borders,” *CIA Memos: A Collection of CTC/OTA’s Papers on Al-Qa’ida’s Threat to the US Homeland*, July 7, 2005.

- Downloaded internet articles discussing difficulties the United States has in securing its northern and southern borders.
- Instructions on how to avoid suspicion when traveling and questions to expect from immigration inspection officials. (U//FOUO)

Al-Qa'ida operatives are also being coached to have a solid cover story and ensure that they are not using watch listed passports.

- Operatives are advised to acquire alias documentation—driver's license, residency permit, credit cards, and family photos—that corresponds with a false passport.
- As a final backstop, al-Qa'ida members are told, if possible, to recruit immigration officials with access to databases to ensure the passports were not watch listed.”

As a border state long plagued by the challenge of illegal immigration, Arizona is one of several areas that is facing the threat of jihadi infiltration from Mexico. Furthermore, given Arizona's radical history and longstanding ties to Al-Qaeda, it could potentially be an ideal location for illegal immigrants with jihadi affiliations. While there is less evidence today of direct collaboration between Arizona radicals and Al-Qaeda, the connections between these two groups are not likely to disappear overnight. As Al-Qaeda continues to adapt to U.S. counter-terrorism measures, it will seek out alternate ways to infiltrate the United States and carry out attacks on American soil. Illegal immigration may be a new frontier for the spread of terror and extremism unless measures are taken to neutralize this threat.

Hezbollah and Illegal Immigration

While the bulk of this study examines Sunni Islamic radicalization, fundamentalist Shia Islam is also a potential source of radicalization in Arizona. Indeed, Hezbollah, a radical Shia organization based in Lebanon, is heavily engaged in efforts to infiltrate the United States through the U.S.-Mexico border.¹²⁹ Different from Al-Qaeda linked groups, Hezbollah's illegal immigration efforts are motivated by financial considerations stemming from its involvement in the illegal drug trade more so than ideology or a desire to commit acts of terror. Despite this, the threat of radicalization from fundamentalist Shia operatives is no less significant than the problem of Salafi-oriented radicalism. The primary difference between Salafi and Shia fundamentalism with respect to illegal immigration is that Salafi groups lack significant human smuggling capabilities while Hezbollah actually does possess these capabilities due to its business relationship with the Los Zetas cartel. As a result, the *potential* of fundamentalist Shia radicalization in Arizona is probably more significant than Sunni radicalization resulting from illegal immigration.

Initially, Hezbollah's activities in Latin America were constrained to the Tri-Border Area of Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay, which is known for its collection of

¹²⁹ Tucson Police Department, "International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah," 1-4; Dawn Bartell and David Gray, "Hezbollah and Al Shabaab in Mexico and the Terrorist Threat to the United States," *Global Security Studies*, 3 (2012), 100-114; Sylvia Allen, "Hezbollah Terror Threat on U.S.-Mexico Border is real," *Arizona Capitol Times*, March 23, 2012, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2012/03/23/hezbollah-terror-threat-on-u-s-mexico-border-is-real/>.

outlaw groups involved in money laundering, fraud, and drug trafficking operations.¹³⁰ The Tri-Border Area features a large Arab population, and Hezbollah currently uses this region as its base of fundraising operations in South America.¹³¹ As Hezbollah's expanded its infrastructure in Latin America, the organization naturally pursued business investments in Mexico given the financial importance of drug smuggling routes into the United States.¹³² This expansion to Mexico was accompanied by a large influx of Lebanese immigrants into the state, and according to a Georgetown University study, "the number of immigrants from Lebanon and Syria living in Mexico exceeds 200,000".¹³³ As a result, Hezbollah's operations in Mexico are anchored by calculated financial interests and cultural ties within Mexican society.

In addition, Hezbollah's affiliation with the Los Zetas drug cartel allows the organization to effectively implement its human smuggling and drug trafficking operations.¹³⁴ In return for profits from drug sales, Hezbollah assists the cartel by linking Mexico to drug markets in Africa in the Middle East and facilitating drug smuggling

¹³⁰ "Iron Triangle of Terror: Iran, Hezbollah, and Los Zetas?" *Analysis Intelligence*, December 19, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://analysisintelligence.com/intelligence-analysis/iron-triangle-of-terror-iran-hezbollah-and-los-zetas/>; Washington Times, "EXCLUSIVE: Hezbollah uses Mexican drug routes into U.S.," *The Washington Times*, March 27, 2009, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/mar/27/hezbollah-uses-mexican-drug-routes-into-us/?page=all>.

¹³¹ "Iron Triangle of Terror," 1

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Tucson Police Department, "International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah," 2; Anna Mahjar-Barducci, "Hezbollah in Mexico," *Gatestone Institute*, July 15, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/2269/hezbollah-mexico>.

¹³⁴ "Iron Triangle of Terror," 1; Tucson Police Department, "International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah," 1; Terence Rosenthal, "Los Zetas and Hezbollah, a Deadly Alliance of Terror and Vice," *Center for Security Policy*, July 10, 2013, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2013/07/10/los-zetas-and-hezbollah-a-deadly-alliance-of-terror-and-vice/>.

efforts into the United States.¹³⁵ For example, Hezbollah operative Ayman Joumaa was indicted by the U.S. Department of Justice for “coordinating multi-ton shipments of cocaine from Colombia to Los Zetas Mexican drug cartel destined for the United States and laundering hundreds of millions of dollars in these drug proceeds back to the Colombian suppliers”.¹³⁶ Joumaa also linked Colombian cocaine suppliers and the Los Zetas cartel to Hezbollah distribution networks in West Africa and laundered some of the profits from these operations back to Hezbollah in Lebanon.¹³⁷ Additionally, U.S. authorities recently revealed that Hezbollah, on instructions from the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, enlisted Los Zetas to assassinate the Saudi Ambassador to the United States.¹³⁸ This plot, which was foiled by law enforcement officials in October 2011, exemplifies the potential danger associated with the Los Zetas-Hezbollah alliance.

Moreover, Hezbollah also assists the cartel by constructing smuggling tunnels from Mexico into the United States, and it is clear that Hezbollah has taken advantage of its unique access to these tunnels to transport operatives into the United States.¹³⁹ Indeed, Michael Braun, Chief of Operations at the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency from 2005-2008, notes that Hezbollah uses “the same criminal weapons smugglers, document

¹³⁵ United States Department of Justice, “U.S. Charges Alleged Lebanese Drug Kingpin with Laundering Drug Proceeds For Mexican And Colombian Drug Cartels,” December 13, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.justice.gov/usao/vae/news/2011/12/20111213joumaanr.html>; Jason Ryan, “Lebanese Drug Lord Charged in US: Links to Zetas and Hezbollah,” *ABC News Online*, December 13, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/12/lebanese-drug-lord-charged-in-us-links-to-zetas-and-hezbollah/>.

¹³⁶ United States Department of Justice, 1

¹³⁷ Ryan, “Lebanese Drug Lord Charged in US,” 1

¹³⁸ John Bolton, “Iran's assassination plot compels a tough response,” *The Guardian*, October 21, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/oct/21/iran-assassination-plot>.

¹³⁹ Washington Times, pp. 1

traffickers and transportation experts as the drug cartels,” to infiltrate the United States.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, there are several documented cases of Hezbollah operatives who have entered the United States through these channels. For example, Salim Boughader Mucharrafile was apprehended by Mexican police for overseeing a human smuggling operation that involved sending 200 people, including Hezbollah members, into the United States.¹⁴¹ In addition, Mahmoud Youssef Kourani illegally travelled from Mexico to the U.S. in 2001 and was indicted by the U.S. Department of Justice in 2003 for providing material support to Hezbollah.¹⁴² In 2009, Hezbollah operative Jamal Yousef was apprehended in New York City, and he later revealed that he stored a weapons supply in Mexico, which was stolen from Iraq, composed of 100 M-16 assault rifles, 100 AR-15 rifles, 2,500 hand grenades, C4 explosives, and antitank munitions.¹⁴³ Further, Mexican officials apprehended Jameel Nasr in July 2010 on the suspicion that he was attempting to establish a new Hezbollah network along the U.S.-Mexico border.¹⁴⁴ Lastly, U.S. authorities discovered a suicide bomber manual, which was published in Iran, in the Arizona desert near the U.S.-Mexico border in January 2011.¹⁴⁵ As such, Hezbollah’s behavioral history in Mexico provides a strong circumstantial case for the

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Tucson Police Department, “International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah,” 2; Majher-Barducci, “Hezbollah in Mezico,” 1

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Tom Dickerson, “Jihadi Suicide Manual Found on Arizona Smuggling Trail,” *United States Border Control*, January 28, 2011, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.usbc.org/illegal-immigration/illegal-aliens/jihadi-suicide-manual-found-on-arizona-smuggling-trail/>.

argument that fundamentalist Shia operatives are searching for – and frequently finding – ways to infiltrate Border States, including Arizona, through the U.S.-Mexico border.

Additionally, Arizona law enforcement personnel are also concerned with Hezbollah’s activities in Mexico. Indeed, the Tucson Police Department published an intelligence memo titled “International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah” in September 2010, which documents the threat of Hezbollah’s human smuggling efforts.¹⁴⁶ In particular, this memo explicitly references the cases of Jamal Yousef and Jameel Nasr as causes for concern among Arizona law enforcement officials.¹⁴⁷ It also notes that there are a number of inmates affiliated with Hezbollah in the Arizona prison system.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, former Congresswoman Sue Myrick (R- N.C.) has referenced the increasing prominence of Farsi tattoos on prison inmates incarcerated in many Border States.¹⁴⁹ In a 2010 letter to then Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, Representative Myrick states that “we have typically seen tattoos in Arabic, but Farsi implies a Persian influence that can likely be traced back to Iran and its proxy army, Hezbollah”.¹⁵⁰ She also asserts that these markings are often “seen in combination with gang or drug cartel tattoos,” which further implies some connection to Hezbollah through its relationship with Los Zetas.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Tucson Police Department, “International Terrorism Situational Awareness: Hezbollah,” 1-4.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3

¹⁴⁹ Ed Nelson, “Hezbollah Terrorist Operatives in Mexico,” *United States Border Control*, July 12, 2010, accessed October 3, 2013 from <http://www.usbc.org/national-security/open-borders/hezbollah-terrorist-operatives-in-mexico/>.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Therefore, the potential threat of fundamentalist Shia radicalization in Arizona is evidenced by Hezbollah's documented human smuggling efforts and Arizona law enforcement's explicit concern about these activities. While Hezbollah's illegal immigration operations are primarily motivated by financial motivations, the organization has also demonstrated the ability to pursue acts of terrorism in the United States on orders from Iran. In turn, the presence of radical Shiites with violent tendencies in Arizona could induce new processes of Islamic radicalization in the state.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this memo highlights the evolution of Islamic extremism in Arizona over and shows how foreign Islamic institutions have contributed to this process of radicalization. This analysis reveals that Arizona has been dealing with the problem of radical Islam dating back to the inception of the Salafi-Jihadi movement in the early 1980s. Furthermore, much of this extremism has been the result of the infiltration of foreign Islamic groups into the framework of the Arizona Muslim community. Organizations with strong ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia such as the Muslim Students Association and the North American Islamic Trust have played important roles in developing radical Islam in Arizona over the years. In addition, Al-Qaeda itself has established deep roots in the Arizona Muslim community beginning with the early days of Maktab al-Khadimat. In this respect, Arizona radicals have been involved in all major Al-Qaeda attacks on U.S. targets from 1990 – 2001 with the

exception of the U.S.S. Cole bombing. These attacks include the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa, and the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York. Additionally, over this same time period, several Arizona Muslims provided financial and logistical support to Al-Qaeda and Hamas.

This report also makes an effort to identify future areas of radicalization in Arizona. In this regard, the porous U.S.-Mexico border represents an avenue through which radical foreign operatives may increasingly infiltrate Arizona and other border states. It is clear that both Hezbollah and Al-Qaeda have attempted such efforts over the past decade. Furthermore, Hezbollah has succeeded in establishing illegal immigration networks on multiple occasions and has used these transit routes to generate active fundraising rings in the United States. Hezbollah's attempted assassination of the Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. also indicates that Hezbollah is able and willing to carry out acts of violence within the United States.

One question that arises from this report is: why did/does Al-Qaeda rely so much on Arizona as one of its headquarters in the United States? First of all, Arizona is one of several states that hosted an Al-Khifa organization in the early 1980s. The presence of this Salafi infrastructure prior to the official establishment of Al-Qaeda certainly minimized the costs associated with infiltrating U.S. Muslim communities in Arizona. As a result, Al-Qaeda's activities in Arizona were likely a partial result of lowered barriers to entry. Moreover, high-level Al-Qaeda members possessed close ties to Arizona and the Arizona Muslim community. Wael Hamza Julaidan is the best example of this reality. In

addition, Arizona proved to be a valuable operational training ground due to the presence of flight schools in the area. This was especially true in the 1990s and early 2000s when Al-Qaeda seemed obsessed with the idea of using airplanes as terrorist weapons.¹⁵² Therefore, Al-Qaeda's activities in Arizona were likely the result of high-level connections with the Arizona Muslim community, an established recruiting infrastructure, and the existence of operational training opportunities.

Furthermore, the specific radicalization patterns identified in this paper suggest some structural conditions that may facilitate processes of Islamic radicalization. This general model entails a two stage process of (1) *indoctrination* by Islamist institutions backed by wealthy fundamentalist benefactors and (2) *mobilization* in the form of opportunities for violent action. Indeed, the most dangerous factor involved in Arizona's radicalization process is that the presence of radical thoughts (indoctrination) is complemented by the opportunity for violent action (mobilization). For example, Wael Jalaidan's initially participated in the Muslim Students Association and the leadership of the Islamic Center of Tucson, but he was only able to act on his fundamentalist beliefs due to his connection with Abdullah Azzam through the Al-Kifah refugee center. Similarly, radical elements of the Tucson community indoctrinated Hani Hanjour, but he only turned to violence due to the accessibility of Al-Qaida training camps in the Middle East at the time.

¹⁵² Kean and Hamilton, "The 9/11 Commission Report," 521, note 60

From a counter-terrorism perspective, these insights suggest that the national security challenge of Islamic radicalization can be mitigated through interference at the second stage of this process. In other words, it may be possible to contain the threat of radical Islam by identifying and removing opportunities for mobilization. Indeed, the results of this report do not support the possibility of “lone-wolf” jihadi terrorism. In every case observed here, incitement to violence manifested itself in concert with direct links to Al-Qaeda, suggesting the importance of group connections in facilitating the elevation of radical beliefs to violent actions.

In sum, understanding the nature of Islamic radicalization is of great importance to the future of counter-terrorism policymaking. The jihadi terrorist threat has evolved significantly over time, and presently, this adaptation is represented by a devolution of power from the central Al-Qaeda leadership to organizational affiliates and isolated terror cells in the West. As such, counter-terrorism experts are exceedingly interested in preventing the spread of radical Islamic ideologies commensurate with Al-Qaeda’s worldview. In this regard, this paper highlights specific radicalization trends in the Arizona Muslim community that can be used to inform counter-radicalization efforts more broadly.

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